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assume such a form, viz. that of some creature of the forest or stream (*vide* pp. 269, 272), so that whoever eats snake, cuscus, lizard, and so forth—even bush-pig—does so at a certain risk. The creature may be an ordinary specimen of its kind, or it may be a *sovai*. In the latter event the man who eats it is in all probability stricken down with illness. The exponents of the *Baigona*, or 'snake cult', which had a vogue in the Northern Division some fifteen years ago, made great play with this belief in animal reincarnation. Not only snakes but a great variety of animals and reptiles were held sacred, and fundamentally their sacred character was due to the fact that they were reincarnations of the dead. Any one, therefore, who killed and ate, or even offended one of these creatures, e.g. by neglecting to hail it respectfully, would incur the anger of the *sovai* which it embodied, and fall sick in consequence. Such cases constituted the peculiar province of the *Baigona* healers, who professed to be able to entice the *sovai* out of the sufferer's body. It is not altogether remarkable that although the *Baigona* was practically stamped out as a cult more than ten years ago there should still be practitioners (some of them actually retaining the title of *Baigona*-men) who continue to make use of methods and theories which are so firmly founded on old belief.

Sorcery Diseases.

From diseases caused by malevolent *sovai* we may turn to the last category, viz. that of diseases caused by sorcery.

It cannot be said that there is anything essentially distinctive in the symptoms of sorcery disease, though one may go so far as to say that it is the more mysterious and inexplicable of symptoms which call for this interpretation; and while it is true that when a native's anger or suspicion is aroused he is liable to strike out with a charge of sorcery for even the most trivial affliction, it remains the general rule to impute this cause only for the more serious complaints. Further than this, it is imputed as cause especially for those complaints which cannot be cured. Thus when a doctor has tried his methods on a patient without success he is likely to set the case down as a hopeless one of sorcery

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and discontinue his treatment; and, indeed, if he be astute enough, he may decide to have no truck with any case that seems too far gone. For it is generally held that sorcery sickness cannot be cured by the ordinary methods of the healer. Failing other explanations, therefore, he adopts this most pessimistic one. Sorcery is, in fact, the native's exegetical last card.

It is not my intention to deal with the methods of the sorcerer further than to say that (*a*) they follow the characteristic procedure in which some symbol of the victim is subjected to a treatment representing in symbolic form the sickness which it is hoped may afflict him; and that (*b*) this process is thought to be made infallible, i.e. the hoped-for result of it inevitable, by the addition of some element of a supernatural character which is known only to the sorcerer. Examples of their methods have been supplied in the essay on Orokaiva Magic, to which the reader is referred. At any rate they need not enter into the subject of the present chapter; for what concerns us here is not the actual practice of black magic, but that entirely disproportionate belief in its practice which has so often supplied a diagnosis of disease.

Common-sense Treatments

We may now turn our attention to native methods of treating disease. These may be considered under three heads: (i) Common-sense, (ii) Expulsive, and (iii) Placatory (which, by the way, are not meant to correspond with the three heads under which were classified the causes of disease).

To the first division there belong a number of treatments which, whatever their degree of futility, seem nevertheless to be straightforward and 'common-sense'. Wounds, for instance, are washed and subjected to a treatment of hot air, blown through a tube of heated bark or banana stalk. After that they may be given a hot compress of leaves. For snake-bite the treatment, I am told, is to cut about the bite and let the blood flow. For headache there is the old remedy of blood-letting from the forehead (by means of a series of small cuts).

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upon a doctor carrying a bunch of valuable ornaments to his house. They have been handed to him by the husband of a woman who is apparently dying. He explains that he is about to hang them up on his house verandah as an offering to the *sovai* of a man not long deceased, who is supposed to be afflicting the sick woman. If this *sovai* wishes the woman to recover he will accept the presents (which means that they will remain in the possession of the doctor); if he allows the woman to die, then the doctor will return them to her husband, for they have not achieved their purpose.[1]

Apart, however, from these eleventh-hour acts of placation, there are the daily observances which have been constantly referred to in earlier chapters, and these may be regarded as in some degree a prophylactic placation; for they are not meant only to ensure general prosperity, but especially to ward off the sickness which *sovai* malignancy is so fond of inflicting.

In so far as sorcery disease admits of any cure, that cure also is a matter of placation. It is a case of 'squaring' the sorcerer. I have already pointed out that the doctor—whatever his speciality, be it *humbari*, *bara*, or any other—acknowledges his inability to deal with a case that he diagnoses as sorcery; and it has been seen that it is just then, when his stock remedies have been applied without success, that he falls back on this diagnosis. I have seen a Baigona man, celebrated as he was for his powers, stand aside assuming an air of complete indifference while a dying patient was surrounded with wailers. He had tried his own methods without avail, therefore he did not hesitate to say that the

[1] The doctor's responsibilities were indeed sometimes rather severe. I have myself been privately requested to hale one of them before the magistrate for his refusal or inability to effect a cure, and Mr. A. E. Oelrichs, a former Resident Magistrate of the Northern Division, gives the following extreme instance. A man had undertaken to cure a sick woman, and had received from her son-in-law as payment for his 'few passes' a dog and a pig as well as some native ornaments. 'Unfortunately, he returned next day, and, while in the village, the woman died. Her son-in-law then went up to the "doctor" saying, "You did not cure the woman, and, as I have paid you, I am going to kill you." The deceased admitted the fact, but did not attempt to run away. The three prisoners, all of whom were present during the interview, then went to their respective houses, obtained weapons, and, while the son-in-law speared the sorcerer, the other two hit him on the head with stone clubs.' *Annual Report*, 1910–11, p. 132.

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754 case was due to some one's sorcery, and to acknowledge that he was incompetent to deal with it.

Such being the common attitude, we do not find any one attempting to make counter-magic. The only acknowledged method is to go to the imputed sorcerer and ask him to relent; and even this last resort is a matter of theory rather than of practice. For there is first of all the difficulty of discovering the sorcerer, and then there is the practical certainty that the accused man will deny the charge. Were he from any motive to acknowledge it, he would *ipso facto* assume the power of restoring his victim to health; for it is only necessary for the sorcerer to undo his work, to cease subjecting the symbol of the victim to its symbolic suffering (whatever form either of these may take), and the patient will recover. Assuming this power the sorcerer may accept a bribe and consent to neutralize his magic. But if the man succumbs, the acknowledged sorcerer lays himself open to revenge. On the whole I am prepared to believe that the man who is accused of sorcery usually hastens quite truthfully to deny it. And further, I am prepared to believe, despite perfectly authentic instances, that charges of sorcery and requests to relent are not made very frequently before the patient dies. A sick man, or one of his friends, may discover the guilty party in a dream, or may draw his own conclusions from a grudge, but as a rule the patient dies first and then, when it is too late, his relatives may place the guilt and begin to think of revenge. While, therefore, the only remedy for sorcery sickness is to placate the sorcerer, it seems that this treatment is one of theory rather than of practice. Sorcery is the stock explanation of a hopeless case, or of a death, and it is always ready for the baffled doctor to save his face, and for the aggrieved relatives to give them grounds for a revenge.

753 In conclusion, I may shortly reconsider the native's ideas of disease in relation to his general philosophy. That philosophy, as we have seen, is only fragmentary. Much is taken for granted. Ordinary phenomena, things that are 'going well', simply explain themselves; but whatever is extraordinary, particularly what is unfortunate, puzzles and an-

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called *Baigona* and were to be treated with affection and respect. They must be hailed and welcomed whenever they were seen; to kill or eat them was forbidden. These taboos extended to a number of other creatures—lizards, crocodiles, cuscus, and the like—all of which, in native belief, are commonly the reincarnations of departed spirits.

The originator of this cult imparted his knowledge of certain medicines, rites, and taboos to others, and this kind of individual initiation was passed on until there grew up a clique of '*Baigona* men', who might be called priests of the new cult, and who were to be found in villages as far north as the German boundary.

Meanwhile the horde of ignorant and gullible believers rapidly increased, comprehending little more of the new order than the general taboo regarding reptiles. The genuine *Baigona* men professed to practise healing, but there was another side to their activities: there is little doubt that they were sorcerers to a man, who held the masses in considerable fear and practised an easy kind of extortion. Together with other methods of professed healing they underwent themselves, and induced in their patients, paroxysms of a peculiarly horrible nature. These paroxysms became the general vogue among all who were affected by the cult, and this, together with the practice of sorcery and extortion, led the Government to discourage and suppress the movement. The craft of the *Baigona* men was virtually stamped out ten years ago, though in the interior of the Northern Division there are still to be found regular *Baigona* practitioners who, with a strange amount of confidence in themselves, continue to try their cures upon strangely confident patients. This practice, however, is thought by the natives to be against the law of the Government, and is therefore only in secret. Despite certain effects which it has left on native custom, the *Baigona* cult may be said to have died out. On the whole one is tempted to class it as thoroughly obnoxious.

It was very soon replaced by another movement,

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eminence. When a man is credited with supernormal powers in any department of life, he becomes an object at once of admiration and suspicion; and he would be more of a fool than he is if he did not make full and varied use of this imputed supernormality. Consequently, if a man by virtue of spiritual possession can prosper the taro, he can cure the sick and control the weather by the same means; and, it is to be feared, he can turn his gift of *mana* to account in other and less amiable directions.

In respect of medical treatment the Taro cult has brought with it a few innovations, though these have by no means displaced the older methods. The Taro man makes free use of old and new. There are, however, in native belief several distinct sources of infirmity, according to which all ailments may be roughly classified. There is, first, the mild epidemic (*yevi* or *basmi*) which is regarded as a phenomenon of nature, brought by the cold wind, and which usually evinces itself in a headache and a fever. There is, secondly, a large class of ailments due to the evil influence of spirits of the dead; these are commonly attended by internal pains. Thirdly, there are those illnesses caused by sorcery (*kai*, *inja*, *saruka*), which have a variety of more or less severe symptoms. Now the illnesses of this last category are in a sense incurable: there is only one recognized way of curing the victim of sorcery, and that is for the sorcerer himself to withdraw or annul his evil influence. A Taro man will not treat a case of sorcery-sickness: he acknowledges that he can do nothing for it, and he has a means of diagnosis which is as simple as it is infallible. He tries his treatments: if they are not successful, and the patient is obviously dying or already dead, he says, 'I am sorry, I can do nothing: this is a case of sorcery-sickness.'

As for the first category, those of the natural ailments, it appears that the Taro man will treat them with confidence, though they are said not to be fatal, and may be expected if left alone to cure themselves. It is with the

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apprehension the increasing blackness of the sky. There was a great accumulation of food in the village and the guests were expected in the afternoon. The singing and drum-beating of Taro men is itself efficacious against the rain. They sang and beat their drums with all the vigour of anxiety, and while they did so the mounting clouds broke over the village in a deluge of rain. This, therefore, was no ordinary rain, or it would have held off; it was the work of a sorcerer, perhaps it was said that of old Mendeambo of Bolagasusu.

As the Taro man is powerless to cure the diseases which have been caused by sorcery so is he powerless against the sorcerer's rain. His province is to deal with the rain which had been brought on by spirits, by the 'dead men'. I was told that to quarrel with a Taro man would be sufficient to bring about an untimely downpour, because the spirit immanent in him would be offended.

While the Taro man claims to avert the rain, I have, oddly enough, little evidence of his claims to make the rain. The drought has more terrors for the Orokaiva than the flood, and a long dry spell, with its attendant scarcity, is commonly ascribed to the malice of a sorcerer. Whatever the cause, it puts a check upon Taro activities. Despite its claim to succour and support the vegetable crop the cult seems unable to cope with the sun, its worst enemy as well as its best friend. One Taro man of importance made a naïve pronouncement on the case. When the sunshine and the rain both came in reasonable quantity the performance of Taro ceremonies was worth while. But when there was a 'big sun' for three months on end, what was to be done? How should they contend against the drought which ruined all their efforts? The ground was hard and hot; the young taro shoots withered and died. At such a season the Taro men might go into recess and wait for better times.

We may briefly discuss the charge of sorcery, which is cognate to doctoring and weather-magic. While the Taro man seems unable to disperse the drought, he is no

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doubt often accused of bringing it on. It is not to be supposed that weather-control belongs exclusively to the exponents of the new cult. It is merely an old-time institution which they have adapted to their own purpose; but this purpose is not always wholly in the public interest. It might probably be said that to the benevolence of magic there is always a reverse or malevolent side—sorcery. The native doctor is believed in because of some secret powers, or some secret methods: directly he uses these for an anti-social end he becomes a sorcerer. It is unnecessary to say that the sorcerer is believed to use his evil powers far more often than he actually attempts to use them: he is a sorcerer more by public opinion than by his own intent. But in this credulity he has the weapon for terrorism and extortion if he care to make use of it. A native doctor is a potential sorcerer: he can strike as well as cure.

Even when he merely refuses to cure he falls under suspicion among his neighbours. It was reported to me that a certain *Baigona* man was refusing to treat a patient. The informant—first brother to the patient—asked that the doctor might be haled before the magistrate and sent to jail. He had every confidence in the skill of the *Baigona* man, and considered it a dastardly thing that he should refuse to treat the dying man. Nowadays it is admitted that *Baigona* was full of sorcery. But the *Baigona* cult is virtually a thing of the past and witnesses will discourse of it with freedom. With regard to the Taro cult they hold their tongues, or guard them. *A priori*, however, there is good reason to suppose that the Taro men do practise a certain amount of sorcery.

One or two positive instances may be given in which the Taro men were apparently guilty of the offence. Quite recently the *Diroga* was brought to the village of Aruruta, where it flourished with true evangelistic vigour. Soon after the magistrate at Ioma was astonished to be confronted by a whole round-up of prisoners from the newly converted Aruruta, brought in by several con-

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stables from the surrounding villages. The police brought a charge of sorcery against their prisoners, which was naturally dismissed, while the officious but possibly well-meaning guardians of the law were sent home in disgrace. The incident which gave rise to the raid, however, is worth recording. A woman of Koninida, married in Aruruta, was informed that the *Diroga* men intended to 'spear' (*kajari*) her brother. She hastened to inform him and the other people of Koninida, who to forestall the attack enlisted the support of their neighbours, and descended on Aruruta with several pairs of jangling handcuffs. The spearing, be it understood, was as it were an immaterial but more than a merely figurative thing. The *Diroga* men carry spears, but they do not hurl them at their victims: they speak to them and bid them do the mischief invisibly. Then the victim is stricken down with a sickness.

A man of another village, who had been down with fever for a week, said he had been 'speared' by the *Diroga* men of Aruruta. Some of his pupils informed Mr. Holland that they had been threatened with 'spearing' by *Diroga* men of another village. They explained that it was a 'spirit spear' which would make them die; and the pupils and their parents were thoroughly intimidated.

In the regular sorcery of the Orokaiva the agent affects his victim directly. The theory of Taro sorcery, however, is that the spirit (of the taro or the dead) enters into and injures the man who has offended it. The commonest way of offending the spirit is to offend the Taro man, to abuse him or quarrel with him, or to neglect to fete him in the proper manner. The spirit which visits or possesses the injured Taro man will enter into the offender and make him ill. Taro men alone can cure the illness by extracting or driving out the spirit. Thus we see the hold which the exponents of the cult have upon the Philistines. They have the powers of *kaiembo* or sorcerers (though they abjure the name); but they

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shoulder off the responsibilities on to the spirits. The theory (quite commonly understood) is that the spirit will resent any disrespect or inattention; and that to fail in respect or attention to the Taro man is to offend the spirit itself in the same way; hence the punishment of sickness. If, as one informant said, any one abused a Taro man, the spirit would overhear and enter the body of the abuser. Such, I am told, is the explanation of the queer practice of universal hand-shaking. One must keep on good terms with a Taro man.

10. *Sects of the Taro and Variant Cults*

We have already noticed that in the course of its extension the Taro cult has undergone one very profound change, viz. from a worship of the taro spirit to a worship of the dead. But side by side with this there have been many minor changes corresponding with the multiplicity of new prophets and their inspired idiosyncrasies.[1] Such idiosyncrasies may or may not establish themselves in popular favour. Where they have done so they have given rise to more or less pronounced variants. In the first place, however, we might distinguish between (1) the 'sects' of the Taro, and (2) the variant cults which it is the purpose of this section to describe.

There are many varieties of the taro plant, each known by its proper name, such as *Kaiva*, *Porove*, *Ovivi*, *Togoro*, &c. On one occasion I listed as many as seventeen, but the catalogue was still, I believe, incomplete. Now any Taro expert will tell you that he is a *Kaiva* man, or a *Porove* man, or an *Ovivi* man, &c., as the case may be. The varieties of the taro itself afford the basis for a classification of the Taro men, and for these classes I have employed the word 'sect'. Thus each sect is known by the name of a particular variety of the plant.

In any one village the adherents of Taro will probably belong in the majority to one particular sect. This is

[1] Vide pp. 36–7.

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brothers on a raid, telling her to wait for his home-coming, when he would marry her. In due time he came back to the girl's house, far ahead of the others, to tell her that the raiders had been victorious and to take her away to his home. As they set off he bade her go in front, but looking over her shoulder the girl saw him jerking his head and stamping his foot, and finally noticed a trickle of blood from his ear. At that she became alarmed, left her husband on the track, and ran back to the village where she found the raiders bringing in his corpse. Real *diroga* jerk their heads, so should not *Diroga* men do the same?

The dance of the *Diroga* men has already been described (p. 20). With its swift advance and retreat, its dodging and sallying, and its truculent, threatening air, the performance seems to reproduce the attack of the fierce Orokaiva warrior. No native has offered an explanation, but it seems that the warlike nature of the dance is supposedly due to the possession of the dancers by warrior spirits.

The spears have become an emblem of the *Diroga* cult. Many, if not all of them, are found to bear personal names—the names in fact of the actual *diroga* which possess their owners. They are in fact symbols of the dead warriors. It is said, indeed, that 'the spears are men'. This makes clear the practice of gripping or stroking the spear-point. The universal hand-shaking of Taro men has been referred to. With *Diroga* men it is customary to touch their spear-points as well as to shake them by the hand: this, I am told, is a salutation to the *diroga* which is symbolized by the spear. If a man neglect this observance he may fall sick, because he has offended the *diroga*.

It has been said that the profession of curing is more pronounced among the *Diroga* men than among the ordinary followers of the Taro cult. The methods are, however, the same as those previously described, with special emphasis on the use of the spear (p. 60). With

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curing, it is to be feared, goes the implication of sorcery. It may not be without significance that the two or three instances of implied sorcery which have come to my notice are all associated with *Diroga*.

Within the *Diroga* cult itself there is already disintegration. The majority are *Ki-embo* because of their association with the *ki*, or spear; but there are also *Gishi-embo* and *Asivo-embo*, who affect respectively the *gishi*, or pineapple club, and the *asivo*, or wooden sword. Concerning these latter I have only the scantiest information; and no more regarding a distinction between the 'Bush' *Diroga* men and the 'Salt Water' or coastal *Diroga* men.

There are several other more or less important variants of the Taro cult of which I may describe three, viz. those of the *Eriri* men and the *Hobora* men, and thirdly the cult of Manau.

The *Eriri* or 'Rainbow' men are numerous in the Dobodura district. Some years ago one Aragata was mourning the loss of his brother, and after the Orokaiva fashion was embracing his dead body as it lay on the *habara*, or exposure platform, before burial. When Aragata descended from the *habara* he found his legs unsteady, and was forthwith taken in a fit of *jipari*. In the course of this fit, he says, he became aware in some manner that his dead brother's spirit was the cause of it. Further thrills were in store for Aragata, however. That night he dreamt, and in his dream went in search of his brother. The search was fruitless. Aragata found no trace of his kinsman, but came instead to 'the place of the rainbow', where he met one Songe, a man of long ago. Songe (of whom my informant could give no clear account) questioned him and condoled with him, and finally said, 'I give you Taro' (i.e. I make you a Taro man); 'whenever you see a rainbow you will be seized by *jipari*'. Aragata professed that the sight of a rainbow always had the promised effect upon him, and further, that the rainbow and nothing else could produce that effect. Soon, however, he had an enthusiastic following,

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244 be accompanied by her husband they will probably
482 return together about noon, he with his axe, knife, and spears over his shoulders, she, a few paces behind, bending forward under a weight of taro, greens, and firewood, her immensely distended string bag hanging over her back from a band across her sweating forehead, while the counter-balance of a sleeping baby in another string bag may hang before her. A small prick-eared
[231] dog trots alongside, and as the larger and more aggressive animal that accompanies the white man comes into view, she will (to avoid the possibility of conflict) contrive in some manner to sink down and gather the extra burden of a dog into her arms.

244 Replanting goes on from time to time, and the successive plots may be marked off by log boundaries (*tani*). The period of greatest activity is perhaps about the beginning of the North-West season, when more abundant rain can be counted on, and when the whole clan may be engaged in planting out the offsets, or *bere*. But there is no seasonable rule, and *bere* may be transplanted into damp localities in the middle of a dry spell. Indeed, one man complained that a term of three months in the district jail had coincided with such a dry spell, and he had actually lost all his offsets for lack of transplanting.

251 The fact that there is never real famine and that
[231] scarcity is a rare thing, brings about an attitude of mind which we might call improvidence. Yams are stored where they are grown; so also are *Tauga* nuts and *Puga*. But the two former are not common except in the south of the Division. Beyond these, and of course the coconut, the native puts by no vegetable food. When a feast
251 is preparing, the taro will be gathered in great quantities
754 and stacked on platforms. Some is eaten at the feast, some distributed with a great display of cordiality to the guests, who take it home. There is no method of preserving taro, and sometimes, when a feast is for any reason delayed, a great deal of food may deteriorate and become inedible.

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these more ignorant people can so easily detect it in their own conduct. This point is obvious but not without importance, because one sometimes finds a tendency to regard native magic (whether well or ill intentioned) as in itself reprehensible.

It is not easy to define the native's own category of the magical. But if we examine those of his practices which we ourselves regard as magic, we will often be able to discover in them two more or less distinct elements—a routine or procedure, and a medicine or magical substance. The former is overt, the latter is occult. The former may indeed include the use of substances or objects, but there is no secrecy or mystery about them. The magical substance *par excellence* is something not understood.

This magical substance might be called a charm or even a talisman; but these words have acquired a connotation which seems out of keeping with the unpretentious methods of native magic. The word 'medicine', which is commonly used in regard to native magic, is avoided because it may so easily be applied to any substance which enters into the magical routine, and about which there is no suggestion of mystery or the supernatural. For the little extra, however, the primitive elixir, I propose to use the word 'specific', because, while the substances are of great variety, each is regarded as efficacious for some more or less special purpose. The word, however, must in this paper be given an extra meaning, viz. that of mystery or incomprehensibility.

An example will make the distinction clear. A man named Baravandari has been held responsible for the death of one Gogova. He is supposed to have extracted from Gogova's bag the remains of a betel-nut which his intended victim has bitten. This he wraps up in a small parcel of leaves *together with some saruka* (or sorcerer's specific). He puts it under a flat stone upon which he seats himself, heaving his body to and fro so as to give the betel-nut and the medicine a thorough crushing. Mean-

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while he imitates *sotto voce* the blasts of the shell trumpet and the thin wailing of women. These sounds are meant to represent the trumpet which, with distinctive rhythm, will summon the mourners to Gogova's funeral, and the weeping of Gogova's womenfolk. Then he leaves the parcel under the flat stone till the victim shall sicken and die.

This case was recounted to me by an old man—himself a likely sorcerer—in the presence of a number of spectators. There was no secrecy regarding the procedure, but regarding the *saruka*, or magical substance, all the spectators and the old man himself professed complete ignorance. They were all capable of enacting the routine, but none were capable (so they professed) of killing the victim, because they did not know of the necessary specific.

The above case is one of black magic or sorcery, but the same applies to the innocent magic of everyday life. When the hunter has set up his pig-trap he throws into it some leaf or other—a pig-medicine—and cries, '*Ma, ma!*' (the conventional way of calling pigs in the village), and utters a grunting noise in his throat. These latter, the call and the grunt, are the procedure; the leaf (a more or less close secret) is the specific.

The use of a specific, however, is not invariable. Many of the minor practices which we should call magical are, so to speak, straight-forward magic. There is with them no necessity for any accessory power; no all-important but mysterious ingredient need be added. The magic works of itself. Successful or not it is simply an effort in the direction of the desired result. Such are spells, ejaculations, and gestures. The man who would drive off the rain cries *Wa doio!*'—'Cease rain!'—utters a long-drawn inarticulate cry, and sweeps back the clouds with a wave of his arm. A pig-hunter whispers *Engepu, engepu!*—'Come hither, come hither!'—as he waits in the garden by moonlight; and the little boy, visiting his bird-traps and finding one of them collapsed, says

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seems to him very natural and sensible. There is no appeal to any unknown power; his conduct is straightforward and aims direct at the result. Therefore, he would say, it is not magic.

It will be obvious that we can expect to learn little at present from the specific. It is proposed, therefore, in the next section to examine the magical procedure.

2. *The Procedure of Magic*

One or two further examples will show that Orokaiva magic has many features with which we are familiar. An old woman named Hojavo is reputed to be a rain-maker. At first she maintains her innocence of the charge, but finally yields to many assurances of indemnity and consents to show her magical recipe. First she takes a broad striated leaf of the tree *Gotomo*. (My interpreter points out a resemblance between this leaf and a certain kind of cloud, which I confess myself unable to see with him.) The *Gotomo* leaf is thoroughly crushed and deposited in an earthenware saucepan. Now the old woman takes a section of banana stalk of the kind called *Andoga*. This is especially succulent, and as she breaks and squeezes it in her hands over the pot it sheds a copious rain of drops. Meanwhile she is muttering *Ga bejo, ga bejo!*—'Rain come, rain come!' Then, when she has squeezed the *Andoga* stalk dry, she places it on top of the first leaf and the watery fluid in the pot, and leaves them in her house. For some reason the rain-maker must skulk indoors, not venturing out nor ever looking at the sky until she relents and is ready to unmake her magic. To do this she empties the earthenware pot; she lays out the saturated *Andoga* to dry; she looks into the sky and puffs her breath at it; she blows into her closed fist and then sweeps her open hand across the heavens, crying, *Ga tojo, ga tojo!*—'Rain be finished!'

A group of informants describe a method of causing that enormous distension of the scrotum, known as *bau peni*, which is sometimes seen among the Orokaiva and

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754 is always an object of dread to them. The procedure is evidently well enough known, for there is no attempt at secrecy and the group of informants and onlookers is a large one. But it must be understood that the specific (in this case called *inja*) is professedly unknown. Not one of the group will admit that he is able to inflict this dreadful deformity on any other man; he knows how to go about the nefarious work, but he does not know the specific which would make the work really effective.

By way of demonstration an old man, taking some leaf at random to represent the *bau peni* specific, scrapes fragments of it into another leaf. As he does so he groans and writhes, muttering audible complaints of the pain in his testicles and declaring that he is a dying man. This is in imitation of the victim when he begins to feel the pain of the attack. Having wrapped up the leaf which contains the scrapings into a little parcel, the sorcerer saves some of the remaining *inja* and takes his opportunity of rubbing it on the mat where his prospective victim is sure to sit. Then he goes off and conceals the small package in one of those nests of termites called *siriho*. This *siriho*, usually found in the fork of a tree, takes the form of an irregular ball of woody substance and may be in size equal to a football. It bears sufficient resemblance, even in point of cubic capacity, to the swollen scrotum with which the unhappy victim is to be burdened.

Now the work of the sorcerer is for the time being complete. The victim will have sat on his mat, and thus, so to speak, the circuit is made complete and the *inja* may be relied upon to do its work unaided. Only one thing can arrest the hypertrophy to which the victim is now doomed, and that is for the sorcerer to relent, to abstract the parcel of *inja* from the *siriho* and cast it into the water. After that he may himself treat the patient by the ordinary methods of blowing and massage, and recovery is assured.

754 164 A process somewhat similar could bring about the elephantiasis of the lower limbs which is seen fairly

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commonly in the north. A medicine (professedly, and I have no doubt really, unknown to my informants) is set on the track where the doomed man is expected to pass. He simply steps over it: that is enough. Then it is stuffed into the pulpy interior of a large banana-like plant called *Supi*. The characteristic of *Supi* is its tremendously swollen trunk, which is not only clumsy and bulging, but for some reason curiously ugly. The similarity to the terribly deformed limbs of elephantiasis is rather gruesomely apparent.

In such practices as these we see a more or less incomplete representation of the desired result. There seems to be a sort of fantastic reasonableness about them. But it may be argued that any native explanation of this reasonableness is a secondary development, and it is doubtful if the native explanation, such as it is, would bring us very near the truth. The actual origin of the practices is impulsive and unthinking. By repetition they may become set, and so in the mere performance of them there will be thought to exist some taken-for-granted efficacy. But the rationale is an afterthought. Indeed, the rationale is often conspicuous by its absence. We should be wrong in assuming that there is a reason in logic for all magical processes; and to search overmuch for it is to merit the disappointment of the alchemist, or perhaps to discover only some counterfeit theory of our own making, some product of the 'psychologist's fallacy'.

As originally impulsive and truly spontaneous it may be said that the fundamental element in magic consists just in desiring the result, but desiring it in the particular way (viz. without any solid, matter-of-fact basis) which we call *wishing* or *hoping*. One might go so far as to say that whoever hopes against hope, whoever dreams by day or builds castles in the air, has already made magic in his heart. Any emotion or blend of emotions may enter into the hope—hunger, anger, lust, revenge, or whatever other. When we are indulging a wish or a false hope and are enjoying a premature imaginary satisfaction

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of such emotions, we are in spirit guilty of magic. We do not go so far, perhaps, as to engage in the actual practice of make-believe; we are aware of the folly of the magic of words and deeds, and for the most part avoid them; but, while we may be equally aware of the folly of this incipient magic of thoughts, some of us at least are very prone to indulge in it.

The mere hope or wish is in itself regarded as magically potent by the native: you have reason to fear an ill-disposed neighbour simply because he wishes you ill success. When a man has two wives it is, I am told, not uncommon for the less favoured to practise *gose*, or the 'evil wish' against him. If he returns from the hunt with a wallaby and gives it all to his favourite, the fury of the scorned woman finds satisfaction in *gose*. She says to herself, 'Very well, next time he hunts he will waste his time'. When the unlucky bigamist returns empty-handed and angry he is prone to suspect one or other of his wives, and they are likewise prone to mutual accusations, true or trumped-up, so that the affair may end in high words or even blows.

The evil wish may be transmitted by a look—the 'evil eye'. It is said that *Baigona* men had simply to fix an eye on their intended victims and the sickness would follow.[1] An enemy need only cast a malicious glance at one who was going out to hunt and there would be no catch that day. This is the reason why it is advisable to sneak out of the village quietly when you mean to hunt alone.

Another stage in the indulgence of this false hope or wish comes when we utter it aloud in the spell or the apostrophe. When a man wants rain he cries, 'Rain come!'; when he wants it to cease he cries, 'Rain, rain, go away!' As he plants the taro he cries, *O ba anumbe jo!* —'Taro, sit tight!' (i.e. take root), or *Ba erejo!*—'Taro

[1] There may be in this more than elementary magic, for these *Baigona* sorcerers employed snake-spirits, or perhaps the spirits of the dead in snake-form to do their mischief.

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of the Taro songs remains unchanged; they are still meant to make the taro grow.[1]

[The transition from spell to prayer has hardly shown itself among the Orokaiva. It occurs when some higher personal power is called upon to aid in effecting the desire of which the spell is primarily no more than a statement. Still, one might say that the spell and the prayer have the same justification in psychology. By putting our hope into words they strengthen it, though the prayer does so far more effectively by virtue of its appeal to a higher power in which we repose a very comfortable faith. It would be necessary to devote more attention to this subject if we had to discuss how a belief in superior personal powers may influence Orokaiva conduct. For the present, however, it may be dismissed with the remark that Orokaiva magic makes a relatively small appeal to any such powers.]

Another stage is reached when we begin to play-act the desired result. Either by voice, by gesture, or by some symbolic action or contrivance, we are now giving a presentation of the effect we have in mind. We have seen the sorcerer imitating the funeral conch and the wailing of the women, or groaning and exclaiming, writhing and shivering, as he hopes his victim may. We have seen the owner of the pig-trap grunting when he visits it. We might hear the gardener as he plants the slip of sugar-cane make sucking noises and cough as if he were already choking with the sweet juice of the matured plant.

Such procedures do seem to be commended by a certain reasonableness. While remaining unconvinced one does not need to be a leech or a necromancer to see the point. There are, however, certain set forms of procedure in which the point is less obvious. I may refer to three which have frequently come to my notice: they are all methods of black magic.

First there is the use of heat. This is perhaps the commonest method employed by the sorcerer for the in-

[1] Vide Taro Cult, p. 39.

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direct affliction of his victim. When he has prepared the magical concoction with its various ingredients—representative of the victim and of the kind of suffering which is destined for him—he will ram them into a bamboo internode, stopper it with beeswax or a plug of leaves, and leave it suspended from his roof-tree over the fire. Here in the dark privacy of his house it will slowly bake and wither in the ascending smoke, just as the large *Okari* nuts or a joint of wallaby are dried for preserving. By now the victim is 'become like a bottle in the smoke'. As the heat increases by the occasional brightening-up of the fire, so his discomfort will increase with it. Should the fastening give way and the bamboo fall into the flames, the sufferer would, I have been told, incontinently die. But the sorcerer wishes rather to keep his victim on the rack, to prolong his suffering until his friends are ready to make representations to the oppressor. Then if he be not utterly implacable he will relent, remove the bamboo from over the fire, and throw it into the cooling and neutralizing stream of water.

The supposed efficacy of this heating method rests, one may suggest, on the ordinary symptoms of bodily heat or fever in the patient. Whether he complains of such heat or no, the burning skin of a native who is really feverish is sufficient indication of his condition to an outside observer; and to heat the magical substances which are in some way or other associated with him has the obvious effect of raising his temperature.

However, this use of heat has become a recognized magical method, and in some instances it is not easy to detect even a semblance of reason in it. Indeed, I have a case of cold-magic, in which a certain old man was accused of bringing on a spell of disagreeably chilly weather, and it transpires that he adopted the apparently illogical procedure of suspending his cold-making mixture over the heat of the fire. It seems somewhat out of keeping with magical principles (if such a word is permissible) to make cold-magic by means of heat. In the

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789 more usual cases of sun-magic, where a man is charged with causing a drought, it seems natural enough to employ this agency. We may suppose that it has become a set method and may therefore be employed without any thought as to its fitness for any special branch of activity.

754 A second agency regularly used by the sorcerer is that of weight or pressure. In the example given on pp. 173–4 we saw that the magician, after preparing his mixture, sat on it and even rocked his body to and fro in order to squash it the more effectively. Another method is to bury the mixture under a heavy stone which will exert just that gradual and unremitting pressure which suits the mood of the torturer. When a magical mixture is first concocted and stowed perhaps in the favourite receptacle, an internode of bamboo, the sorcerer will allow it to fall from his hand to the ground, or may throw it aloft and see it drop. If it meets the ground with a satisfactory thud, then it is assumed to have the requisite quality of weightiness; if it fall lightly he may bind it to a stone in order to make good the deficiency. Then, perhaps, he will bury it beneath his own mat, so that as he sits in his accustomed place he does so in the comfortable enjoyment of crushing his enemy.

The explanation of this method is similar, I believe, to that of the one just described, in which the agency of heat is employed. It is very common for an ailing native to say that he feels 'heavy' in part or the whole of his anatomy. The word, indeed, describes well enough the weakness or lassitude and the absence of sensations of energy which are common symptoms of tropical illness. It is just the weight of certain creatures, such as the [784] crocodile, which constitutes the stated reason why they are sometimes tabooed to the doctor. If, I have been asked, the physician eats anything so heavy, how can he expect to banish the heaviness of the sick? Examining 754 the varied contents of a man's *hetava*—the string bag in 751 which he carries the small indispensables of life—I once came upon a lump of very light pulpy wood, resembling

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cork, but even lighter. Its owner professed, whether truly or not, that he was in the habit of nibbling it, and made it clear that its very quality of lightness guarded him against possible sorcery. It was in fact an antidote or prophylactic. It seems feasible then that the original motive for weighing heavily upon the magical mixture was to induce the leaden feelings of illness in the destined victim.

The third of these set methods to which I am referring is that of throwing away the magical mixture. This is apparently not so common as the two above described. It is practised typically in the minor kind of sorcery called *ba-tetekari*, or 'throwing away the taro'. This expression, which has acquired a wider application, originally belongs to a particular kind of magic practised in the garden. It is unfortunately a common experience of the Orokaiva gardener to find that the fruits of his cultivation have been devoured in his absence by a thieving stranger. The only traces of the theft are the remains of the stolen goods—a few coco-nut husks, taro leaves, or the mangled stalks of sugar-cane. There is no clue to the identity of the thief, so the indignant owner must forgo the satisfaction of knowing upon whom his vengeance is to fall. However, he takes some left-over fragment—perhaps a piece of chewed sugar-cane which the marauder has unwarily failed to conceal. Then planting a strong resilient stick upright in the ground, he holds the fragment against the upper end, bends the stick back, and lets go. The chewed sugar-cane is catapulted out of the garden into the bush, and the man who chewed it becomes a *pure-hambo*, literally a non-worker, one who neglects his own garden. The effect of *ba-tetekari* would appear to be psychological. The victim of it becomes a waster and a ne'er-do-well, not only in his garden but in all his other activities. As a hunter, for example, he is unobservant and a laggard. I am not clear as to the scope of the phrase *ba-tetekari*. Its literal meaning—said to be 'throwing away the taro'—has been explained; but it appears to stand for any black magic of a minor or less deadly

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character, and is applicable to many processes besides the one described above.

While I have dealt at some length with these three set methods of heat, pressure, and throwing away, it is not to be supposed that one or other of them is invariably employed in the black-magical procedure. There is some originality and much variety. For summary it may be said that at the stage in which magic is truly original and spontaneous the essence of it would appear to be that the hoped-for result is anticipated, that it is represented as already happening in the imagination. It has been suggested that the ground-work of magic is the wish or the groundless hope. When we begin to indulge this wish or hope we are in the mood to practise magic. From hoping in silence we pass on to another stage and express our hope in words; we utter spells and adjurations. If we call upon some higher personal power, we pray—which some will affirm and many deny is magic-making. From merely saying what we want to happen, we come to acting as if it were happening. We make everything pan out according to our desires. But this panning-out is so far only in imagination, and to give it a semblance of reality we play-act the desired result. Thus our hopes are for the time-being fulfilled, and whatever emotions are driving us on find temporary satisfaction, albeit only imaginary. This is the reason why the hunter grunts when he visits his pig-trap, and why the sorcerer writhes as if in agony while he prepares his medicines against his enemy.

Be it understood, by the way, that this sequence—from mere hoping to expressing the hope in words, and thence to a mock fulfilment of the hope in action—is not intended for an evolutionary series, but is only adopted for convenience of exposition. It would be impossible to prove that the spell was always and everywhere antecedent to the action of magic. Nor is this of any consequence to the argument. It might well enough be the other way about. Certain it is, at any rate, that the verbal

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has survived the manual kind of magic with ourselves; though that is perhaps merely because the former is more insidious.

It will, I think, be necessary for an understanding of native magic to admit freely that, if we do not practise magic ourselves, we at least feel the temptation to do so. If magic be founded on emotion it is impulsive before it can affect to be rational. The rational aspect of it we shall have to discuss later. In the meantime we may admit that in so far as it is impulsive it is natural, and most of us, wittingly or unwittingly, yield sometimes to the impulse. Reason and education exert an inhibitory influence upon us in this respect. They have apparently suppressed most of the manual rites and many of the spoken words of magic, and have left us with little more than its fond hopes and fantasies. But a little more twentieth-century education and some of the everyday actions which we perform with so much intellectual self-righteousness may turn into magic before our eyes, and one after another we shall have to banish from the category of common sense all those practices and theories in which the wish is father to the thought.

3. *The Magical Symbol*

In so far as it is impulsive and not yet rational the magical procedure is a premature fulfilment of hope and satisfaction of emotion. These ends are secured by a representation of the desired result, and we may next inquire how this representation is given sufficient of reality to satisfy. It will be obvious that a sorcerer would find the real thorough-going satisfaction of his wish if he could with impunity roast his victim actually over the fire or crush his life out under a stone. But there are many reasons why he cannot do this in actuality. Such a proceeding is impossible under the social system even of the Orokaiva or of any equally primitive people. He therefore roasts or squashes his enemy in imagination, and to add a touch of realism will go through the form

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789 811 two trees. It would seem that it is no more than the quality of bigness which they possess in common with the gigantic pig of the woman's fancy that justifies their use. Whether it was merely their size which in the first place recommended the trees *Boruga*, *Jijuma*, and *Buru* for their various magical uses I am unable to say. There may well enough have been some other more recondite quality which occurred to the man who first used them, and which has been forgotten since they became, so to speak, stock medicines. However, it is sufficient that informants should make this suggestion, viz. as to size, to show how their thoughts run. With some of the magical fertilizers of which I have spoken in Report No. 7, the resemblance is patent enough to require no explanation: instance the use of a vigorous vine as a yam medicine, or a rank river-bank plant with a somewhat elongated heart-shaped leaf as a medicine for taro.

789 754 811 Another association by virtue of which an object may assume the role of a symbol is that, generally speaking, of contact. As we have used the expression Similarity Symbol for those symbols which are based on association by similarity, so we might use the expression Contact Symbol for those which are based on association by contact or contiguity. If the magician can come by a part of the object or person upon whom he has designs, he will derive an anticipatory satisfaction from putting those designs into effect upon the part in lieu of the whole. If he cannot obtain an actual part of such object or person he will make do with something which has been closely associated. In the case of a human victim, e.g., it will be sufficient to obtain a piece of his hair, or one of those red-dyed streamers of areca spathe that the Orokaiva fastens to the tags of his greasy coiffure. It will be sufficient to obtain a tattered fragment of his bark-cloth perineal band, or a scraping of the dirt and sweat which is sometimes present in very available quantity on his skin. A most satisfactory medium is the victim's semen, which, it is said, can commonly be obtained from a

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female betrayer. Any such object or substance which has been in close association with or has belonged to the victim will serve to personify him, as it were, when the sorcerer wishes to work off his feelings.

Anything, indeed, which he has merely touched will suffice. A very common example of the magician's symbol consists of a morsel of food left over by his prospective victim—the remains of a betel-nut, for instance, or even the husk. It is for this reason that native travellers will always dispose so carefully of the remnants of their food. In their own village it does not matter over-much, because it is inhabited by familiar friends from whom they have little to fear; but in a strange village who knows how many sorcerers there may be awaiting their chance? I have watched a party of coastal carriers after a midday meal in an inland village. They had roasted some yams in the open fire and in the usual way scraped off the charred surface before eating them. Before leaving they went so far as to stamp these minute black scrapings thoroughly into the dust, and when questioned about it made no secret of their apprehensions. It is the same motive—not that of tidiness, as one was tempted to think—which sometimes makes carriers in a strange village throw their coco-nut husks into the surrounding bush for concealment, or better still into the running water for neutralization. Again, when working in his garden a man will keep a watchful eye on his *betava*, or string bag, for fear that while his back is turned an enemy should abstract some small belonging on which to work magic against him.

There is a somewhat different style of magic in which the necessity for contact is still apparent, but which it is not easy to include in the same category with the above. In this style the magical mixture is prepared first independently of the victim, and is then brought into contact with him. Sometimes such a mixture may be kept in a bamboo 'bottle'. When it is called into use the sorcerer creeps on his victim in his sleep, dips a

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789 754 feather in the mixture, and lightly touches the sleeper's skin or moistens his lips with it. It might seem as if actual poisons were used in this manner; but this very doubtful subject will be discussed later. The somewhat far-fetched methods of effecting the necessary contact may well throw a doubt upon it. It is, for instance, only necessary in some cases to set the magically potent stuff on the track where the victim is sure to walk over it. Another trick is to make up some medicine together with tobacco in a cigarette. If a youth were exasperated with the coyness of a maiden he might take some *Ese* leaf (why this should be specially efficacious was not made clear), dry it in the sun and then roll it together with some native tobacco in a cigarette. According to the native fashion he would offer this to the girl, who after a sociable puff or two would hand it back. The boy is careful to keep the butt of the cigarette, for he now has what is virtually a symbol upon which to work further magic. The further magic is incidentally worth recording. He ties the cigarette butt to a stick, pokes it into a nest of black ants—a lively and ferocious kind—and leaves it there. If she does not yield readily to his importunity he will go to the ants' nest and worry them with the stick. The ants bite the stick and (if I may record the explanation) it is as if they were biting the girl's stomach. The resultant irritation soon brings her round to the boy's way of thinking.

In this example we may see both styles of contact magic. First the potent medicine *Ese* (whatever may be the basis of its potency) is brought into contact with the girl; second, the cigarette, a contact symbol, is subjected to further treatment of a purely symbolic nature. In those cases where a magical mixture is brought into contact with the person upon whom magic is to be made, such person is being dealt with, not symbolically, but in a sense directly. Where we obtain some object closely associated with this person and make magic upon that, then we are using a symbol. In the latter case (which

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represents the more usual Orokaiva fashion) it is as if we should pour a dose of cough medicine into a man's hat in the hopes of curing him. In the former and less usual case it is as if we should pour it down his throat, or with equal assurance down his back.

It is perhaps possible that all the symbols of magical procedure should be comprised in these two categories without stretching them too widely, i.e. they might be classified as Similarity Symbols and Contact Symbols, which correspond with Frazer's laws of Homoeopathic Magic and Contagious Magic. But it must be remembered that any kind of association, sometimes a strangely remote one, may invest an object with a symbolic character. I may give a few final examples to show how faint the association may be.

The use of tree-leaves is very characteristic of Orokaiva magic. They very often play the part of the specific, i.e. the medicine proper, the really potent but still inscrutable factor; but very often too their symbolic properties can be explained. A witness drew my attention to the damp, cold feel of a certain leaf used in the making of wet weather. Another leaf was used by a magician who had power to calm the seas. He would cry out to the waves to die down and cast into the water a leaf of the *Ombi* tree. The efficacy of that particular leaf lay in the fact that it wilted within a few moments of being plucked. There were two cold-weather medicines (not, I believe, widely known). One was called *Ino-etu*, or 'Dog-tail', and the virtue of *Ino-etu* was merely in its name. For is not the dog, with its shivering and crouching by the fire, peculiarly sensible of the cold? The other was the delicate leaf *Kigira* which partly closes toward sunset as if it were shrinking or huddling itself up from the cold of evening. *Kigira*, by the way, was used elsewhere for quite another purpose. The same trait, viz. of closing at dusk, travelling in another associative channel, made the plant a useful soporific for babies, because it appeared to sleep as babies should sleep. The plant picturesquely

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Ihipa took care to provide himself with a number of bulbs, intending to plant them in his own distant country. Presuming the plant flourishes it will be used by Ihipa according to his instructions. He will impart the secret to his nearest friends. The leaves will retain their supposed power, but it will be readily imagined that the explanation will in time be forgotten. The hairy coat of the leaf will not suggest the hairy coat of the dog unless there is always some one to point out the resemblance. And the association with the man-hunter Totoima will probably be lost sight of when once the plant has been removed from the site of Totoima's activities.

It is impossible to be sure of the reason for the use of any particular specific in the first instance; but it is equally impossible to believe that specifics originated in a causeless or haphazard manner. We can only suggest some original association or analogy which may or may not be the true one. However, it seems probable that some such associative link did in the first instance give a pseudological justification for the use of the leaf (or other object). The object was in the first instance really a symbol. In course of time the symbolism was obliterated from memory and the symbol became a specific.

While the hypothesis may cover most instances it does not necessarily cover all. We may discuss the two words *inja* and *saruka*, both of them standing for any kind of evil specific. Of the third familiar word with the same meaning, viz. *kai*, I have never heard any explanation, but it appears that *inja* is the name of a particular kind of bush vine, and *saruka* that of a tree with a highly odoriferous bark. They were both apparently typical specifics and their names have been applied to the general category of evil specifics. If a man were done to death by the use of the actual vine *inja* this fact would be recognizable from the fact that at death he would be speechless. His entrails would be strangled or tied up (*tigari*) within him as if by the strands of creeper, and it appears that he would die in a kind of intestinal cramp. This is probably

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one of those extemporized explanations which, however far from the original truth of the matter, are nevertheless illustrative of native habits of thought. It squares well enough with our hypothesis that the specific is originally a symbol. The creeper—a native's ever-ready twine or rope—is the very thing to tie the victim's entrails in a knot.

Regarding the *saruka* there was no adequate explanation forthcoming, the only point being that the victim would be able to speak as he was about to draw his final breath and would therefore be able to name the sorcerer who had brought him to that unhappy pass. But the fact that the *saruka* has a stinking bark suggests that a substance might be used originally as an evil specific simply by reason of its unpleasant properties, and with none but the very slightest trace of symbolism. There may be some substances regarded as inherently noxious which it is only necessary to bring into contact with the intended victim in order to do him an injury. We have already seen how this can be done (pp. 191–3). It is quite another question whether from our point of view such substances are really harmful, that is to say, whether the native knows and makes use of any real poisons, and this may be deferred until the next section.

Dismissing this minor question we may consider the psychological justification for the use of the specific, i.e. for the agent of inexplicable powers which makes the mere procedure effective. If the procedure be based on hope, if it be in its merely impulsive stage no more than an imaginary fulfilment of a desire, then any assistance will be welcomed. If the assistance be that of an unknown quantity, possessing a fund of power or *mana* of an unknown extent, then it is all the more likely to be made an object of confidence. The confidence is essentially implicit, both in the sense that it is unreasoned and in the sense that it is complete. The magic-maker, who may have small faith in his more or less elaborate procedure, thrusts the responsibility on to the unknown and rests secure in his confidence of the outcome.

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The specific may be in itself a very harmless ordinary object, but it has a supernatural potency. In discussing the reliance of the magic-maker upon the unknown and the supernatural we find ourselves approaching a somewhat different region of magic, viz. the kind of magic which acts through the medium of supernatural agencies of a personal character. It is only for strict definition to decide whether we have already stepped over the borderline which separates magical from religious phenomena, or whether we must wait till we detect a supplicatory attitude before we are entitled to use the latter term. At any rate this kind of magic, in which supernatural agencies of a personal nature are employed, is of comparatively rare occurrence among the Orokaiva.

Where it does occur it seems that we might almost bring it into line with the sort of magic we have been discussing, save that for the implicit appeal to the specific there is substituted a direct appeal to some supernatural agent of a personal, i.e. a spiritual, character. In some cases the procedure may be perfected and over and above it all the magic-maker may appeal to some spirit as an extra safeguard of success, just as he employs the impersonal but mysteriously potent specific. Thus we hear of a man who has made cold-weather magic with the customary symbolism and has the mixture ready in a bamboo 'bottle'. But then he would shake the bottle and say, 'Go on, go on, burn down the house of my enemy!' The predestined victim piles on fuel incautiously against the cold, the fire flares up, his house catches light and is burnt to the ground. The exhortations of the sorcerer were addressed, as I was told, not to his mixture in the 'bottle', but to the *sovai*, or ghost, of the man whom he was avenging. And this man, who had been speared by the owner of the burnt house, was thus enlisted to compass his own revenge.

Magic through the medium of spiritual agency seems to be the special province of the *Baigona* men and the Taro men, i.e. the exponents of the two cults which have

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789 at different times acquired a great vogue among the
754 Orokaiva. The *Baigona* men were visited by the spirits
775 of the dead, and had dealings with them particularly in that reptilian form which the dead frequently take in Orokaiva theory. It was only necessary for the *Baigona* man to look at or name his victim, and the spirit who was in league with him would in some hardly understood manner effect the damage. Similarly the Taro men could punish any who gave them offence by means of the spirit of the dead (or in some cases the spirit of the taro itself) by which they were possessed. The followers of *Diroga*, a variant of the Taro cult, could figuratively 'spear' their enemies. The spears were emblems or personifications of slain warriors, and it was only necessary for the *Diroga* man to adjure his spear to go forth and strike, and the victim would be down with an illness.

Such cases as these represent a phase of occult practice which is somewhat apart from the subject under debate. I have no very definite information upon it, and this is in no small degree due to the fact that native ideas are themselves more than a little vague. The spirits of the dead are made the objects of many emotions, but perhaps predominantly of fear. Of themselves they can prosper their surviving relatives or they can visit them with sickness and death. They are constantly placated in public rites, so what wonder if the individual sorcerer should call upon or be supposed to call upon them to further his own private designs?

6. *Good and Bad Magic*

789 It has not hitherto been necessary to draw any distinc-
754 tion between the two classes of magic which may be called black and white. In face of the difficulty of defining the term 'magic' one of the most satisfactory solutions is to limit it to the nefarious and disreputable category. However, for the purposes of the present report this solution has not been adopted, and 'magic' has been made to stand for all those primitive practices, good or

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bad, which aim at results in a symbolic manner such as we, from our standpoint of more advanced education, see to be futile and mistaken. The methods and assumptions, however, are generally speaking the same, no matter whether they are in the interests of a good purpose or an evil one.

But there is no doubt that in the native mind there exists a fairly clear and very important distinction, viz. that which depends on the intention of the magic-maker. If his purpose be entirely innocent of harm to others he is welcome to practise his magic as he pleases. He is not known by any special name *qua* magician. Indeed, the character is universal: every man is continually making magic, whether he recognize it as such or whether it appear to him as common sense. But if his purpose be malicious he is known as *kaiembo* or *injambo*. These words may best be rendered by 'sorcerer', and the word sorcery (a synonym for black magic) applied to those varieties of magical practice which are intended to harm the individual or the public.

It is hardly worth making a point which arises from the different aspects in which magic will appear respectively to ourselves and to the native. To the native these are either maleficent or beneficent; to us they are merely malevolent or benevolent. This implies, however, that we might discuss the good and bad in magic from two points of view, viz. in regard to its intent and in regard to its actual effect.

It will be unnecessary to say much more under the first of these two headings. The distinction is clear enough. The best word to characterize black magic is 'anti-social'. This must not be held to imply, however, that the sorcerer belongs to a class of social outcasts and reprobates. My own impressions lead me to think that sorcerers—or at least imputed sorcerers—constitute a large class of the Orokaiva population. Any old man of character and parts, however respectable his general intentions, is likely to figure somewhere or other as a sorcerer. He may be guilty of the charge or he may be

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innocent. If he be innocent he may deny the charge or he may accept it and play up to it. In any event his power and reputation are enhanced, and he probably lives on undisturbed, fearing nothing more than a magical reprisal.

The processes we are dealing with are sometimes secret and sometimes open. These two classes, however, cannot be absolutely correlated with those of black magic and white. Many of the most harmless of processes are strictly individual and private, especially for the reason that they so often make use of some specific which is the more or less close secret of its owner. On the other hand we find accusations of sorcery levelled at whole villages. It was said to be the practice of the *Diroga* men, for instance, to act in concert when they 'speared' their victims, and it is certain that they made no secret of their powers. It is only possible, then, to say that the practices of black magic are for the most part performed in secret, or are at least assumed to be in secret.

We may now discuss the actual effect of magic and decide in what respects it is either good, bad, or harmless —not from the native's point of view but from our own, which is more remote and comparatively elevated. We do not, of course, believe in the manner in which it affects to achieve its results, as if a sorcerer could lay up his enemy merely by making play with a fragment of his loin-cloth, or as if he could make a taro grow by planting a leaf of a large tree in the ground with it. We might, indeed, condemn the whole body of practice and belief out of hand as bad, simply because it is mistaken, superstitious, and unprogressive. But a more lenient view would be perhaps ready to class many of these practices as merely harmless, even if we fail to find any actual good in them. The washing of a young pig with some magical infusion to make it grow, the stroking of a fretting child with a handful of herbs to soothe it to sleep, the calming of troubled waters with a tree-leaf and a spell—in such processes, however wide of the causal mark, there is little to deserve our condemnation.

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However, it is possible that the magic-maker, particularly the sorcerer, may sometimes succeed in bringing about the result he aims at. This might happen in either of two ways—directly, by the use of really harmful substances, or indirectly, by suggestion. If he use any harmful substance which has a demonstrable effect on the victim, it may fairly be argued that from our point of view he has abandoned the role of sorcerer for that of poisoner; but we may proceed to discuss this aspect even if by strict definition it should be excluded from the subject.

It is often maintained that natives hold the secret of many genuine poisons, and sometimes that the sorcerer is an out-and-out poisoner. The principal drawback to this view is that those who hold it are commonly unable to produce or identify the poisons which the sorcerer is supposed to use. The same is true of those abortifacient and contraceptive drugs which in the opinion of some observers *must* belong to a native pharmacology which is kept strictly secret from the prying European. One would be disposed to place some credence in this latter opinion if only its exponents could bring to light one really efficacious example. With regard to the poisons which are supposed to be used in sorcery one is tempted to be almost equally sceptical.

There is little doubt that the bush could furnish a number of vegetable poisons of a more or less dangerous nature, and no doubt that the native knows how to avoid some kinds of food which are injurious. But if we are to suppose that any of these substances are used in poisoning it will be necessary to assume that they are of a sufficiently deadly character to be effective in small and unnoticeable quantity. One may mention several of the better-known products which are recognized as poisons by the Orokaiva. First and foremost there is the vine *Anisi* (which belongs to the genus *Derris*), known as 'New Guinea Dynamite' because it is used for killing or stunning fish just as real dynamite is sometimes used by those who care little for the law of the land and less for the ethics of angling.

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824 278 [762] the ethics of angling. The roots of this plant (and in less degree the leaves and stem) yield a white sap which has strong poisonous properties, and which in many known cases has been made a means of suicide. The suggestion, however, that this might be added to the food of an enemy has been laughed to scorn whenever I have made it. The intended victim, I have been assured, would immediately notice the taste and smell—slight but distinctive—of the plant, and would refuse to eat the food.[1]

754 278 824 The native evidence as to the vine *Anisi* has been somewhat conflicting. Some have classed it outright as *kai*, i.e. they have included it among those evil specifics which have been dealt with in section 5; others have said it is not *kai* because its fatal or morbific properties are perfectly obvious and above board. I have one instance in which *Anisi* was supposed to be added to the victim's food. In this case the root was crushed up and first entrusted to a woman during her menses, who was to sit on it. Being contaminated with menstrual blood it was dried and burnt to ashes in a fragment of pottery. The resultant powder was sprinkled like *aso*, i.e. ash salt, over the food of the victim. My note does not record whether the victim died, and I have no explanation of the part which the menstrual blood was to perform. It remains somewhat doubtful whether the *Anisi* was present in the right form or quantity to be fatal. I have another instance in which *Anisi* was used in sorcery, but this time it was not introduced into the victim's stomach but merely into the bamboo 'bottle', where maybe its deadly qualities worked just as well. In fact one might tell when *Anisi* had been used against a man in this way: his dead eyes had a way of bulging out of his head like those of a poisoned fish.

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278 824 Another recognized poison is the cycad called *Puga*. The fruit must be allowed to remain in running water for

[1] Derris root, i.e. of *Derris alliptica* Bentham (Leguminosae), is, however, said to 'kill fish in a dilution of 1 to 25,000 of water'. Vide Castellani and Chalmers, *Manual of Tropical Medicine*, p. 188.

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a considerable time until its toxic properties are purged away, when it becomes a favourite food. I have never heard, however, of the young cycad fruit being used as a poison. The same is the case regarding the bark *Tangiri*, in which the presence of what I take to be Prussic acid is discernible by its smell. The only use of *Tangiri* within my knowledge is that of fumigating a man's head of hair. The bark is heated, and when it is emitting a cloud of pungent smoke is clamped upon the infested head of the patient.

Lastly, there is the *Pekamba*. This closely resembles the plant known in the Northern Division as *Punjaru*, remarkable for the gigantic flower which, when it passes maturity, breaks up in horrible and vile-smelling decomposition. It is not this decomposing substance, however, but the root of the related plant *Pekamba* (possibly also of *Punjaru* itself) which acts as a very strong corrosive poison. This again has been used in suicides, and further it provides one of the conventional means of self-castigation in time of great grief. A mourner on his way to a funeral will pluck up a *Pekamba* by the roots, and as he enters the wailing village will put his teeth into it and gnaw it until some less distracted or perhaps less theatrical mourner snatches it away. Should any be swallowed the result, I am assured, would be fatal. One old man of my acquaintance had chewed the *Pekamba* too freely in the forgetfulness of his grief and was in consequence ill and hardly able to eat for a period which he estimated at ' six weeks '.

There are no doubt other poisons of which I have no knowledge. But with those that have been mentioned it is possible that the plea advanced by the natives themselves regarding *Anisi* is equally applicable, i.e. they are not used because in fatal quantity they would be detected by the suspicious nostrils or palate of the victim. In fine, however, when we consider the countless variety of specifics which are supposed to possess deadly properties and which in known cases prove to be utterly

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754 devoid of any real efficacy, and when we consider the
278 devious modes of application (so seldom through the
824 mouth) which in our eyes rob them of any chance of being effective, we may be justified in regarding the imputed use of poisons in native sorcery with the greatest scepticism. One's faith in native medicines, good or evil, is likely to diminish as example after example comes to light in which the efficacy turns upon some more or less fantastic association. My own opinion—which merely awaits some tangible evidence to alter it—is that the use of really effective poisons by Orokaiva sorcerers is negligible.[1]

754 Having dealt with the subject of direct harm in native sorcery we may discuss the more serious possibility of the indirect harm of suggestion. While the ritual, the spells, and the specifics of the sorcerer, such as they are, may be intrinsically harmless, the mere impression on the victim that they are being operated against him may have a genuinely grievous effect. The impression may be almost groundless, and the imputed sorcerer entirely innocent; but it will be greatly strengthened by the possible pretences or actual threats of the sorcerer. Cases in which a man has faded away and actually died under the fear of sorcery are well authenticated in anthropological literature. While one has seen nothing of the kind among the Orokaiva, one is ready to give these accounts due credence. However, it would be possible to set too much store by this phenomenon, which has been called *thanatomania*. It must be extremely uncommon for a healthy man to fade away and die under the mere suggestion of sorcery. The usual way of the matter, I believe, is this. A man falls ill from some natural cause. He casts about him for the reason of his sickness, and straightway thinks of evil magic; his thoughts fly to some enemy; his friends endorse his

[1] R. Lister Turner (in *Man*, August 1924, No. 88) mentions several poisons which, he suggests, may be used in the kind of sorcery called *Vada* in the Central Division of Papua. The above-mentioned *Pekambo* is perhaps identical with Matoa of the Central Division, which he suggests is Dracunculus.

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suspicions until they become almost certainty. Maybe 754
the imputed sorcerer is taxed with his guilt, and, maybe, scenting the possibility of extortion, he rather welcomes the accusation and plays up to it. By now the psychological atmosphere is as unfavourable as possible to the patient's recovery. If the alleged sorcerer yield to the importunity of the sick man's friends (adequately backed by presents of shell, feathers, and boars' tusks), the suggestion may be removed by his mere consent to withdraw his magic, perhaps with some formality of cancellation such as casting the mixture into running water. Without such reassurance the patient might think himself doomed, and would at any rate be in no good mood for recovery.

There can be little doubt that primitive people are characterized by exaggerated suggestibility. The prevalent native theory that many sicknesses are due to sorcery is responsible for an immediate self-diagnosis which is confirmed by the sick man's friends. Further, the belief (which has been already mentioned) that sorcery-sickness is incurable save through the relenting and intervention of the sorcerer himself will impress on the patient the idea that his condition is otherwise hopeless.

On the whole we may admit that the indirect harm in sorcery is very considerable. The harm is wrought upon the body through the mind. It follows that in the main it is not the practice of sorcery which does the harm, but rather the belief in it, and especially the fear of it.

7. *The Fear of Magic*

Cases of imputed sorcery often come before the magistrate, but not a few of them, I believe, have to be dismissed as unproven. Some of these are deliberately trumped up, but many more are the outcome of mere groundless suspicion. It is probably true, moreover, that but a small proportion of the 'cases' are ever referred to the magistrate, for unless the evidence is very strong the native feels there is little hope of securing an indict-

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754 ment. Sorcery and magic, indeed, are often regarded as something a little beyond the ken of the matter-of-fact white man.

754 753 Among the natives themselves, however, there is a rife impression that disease, illness, death, and everyday misfortunes are due to black magic. Although it would be seriously incorrect to say that misfortunes are invariably ascribed to black magic, the impression may nevertheless be very far-reaching. Typically, however, it is confined to those mishaps and illnesses of a more mysterious and inexplicable nature. An accident, a fall from a tree, anything so straight-forward and palpable is likely to pass without comment; so is the death of an old man: as they say picturesquely, *Iji ambu*, 'His sun is set', or 'His day is done'. But if a man be cut off in his prime, if he develop some mysterious complaint, if he break out in boils, or if he fall victim to elephantiasis, there is likely to be more than a suspicion of foul play.

It is sometimes averred of primitive people that they believe every death to be due to sorcery. It is desirable in passing to discuss how far this generalization is really true. It may well be true of some primitive peoples while it is untrue of others; for it is certain that the belief in sorcery varies among different societies. But it is not permissible to make the generalization sweep in the whole of Papua. An examination of the theories as to disease, sickness, and death among the Orokaiva reveals, generally speaking, three putative sources. First there are wind and weather. Natives are naturally susceptible to cold and feel keenly the discomfort of it. Colds, fever (presumably malarial), and mild epidemics are commonly endured without inquiry as to their origin, or else are said to come 'on the wind'—which is maybe not so far from the truth. If a man work too hard in the burning sun he may have headache and a fever. Such complaints are regarded as virtually natural. There is a second category of causes, which may account for mild visitations like those described above, but also for

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more serious and often fatal illnesses. These are inflicted by the malignant spirits of the dead. Lastly, there is the category of illnesses brought about by the living sorcerer, which must prove fatal unless the sorcerer himself remove their cause.

The late W. N. Beaver wrote that 'the veriest tyro in Papua will pronounce that no native is ever believed to die naturally'.[1] Even if one include the second of the above categories among the causes of death which are in native belief not natural, Mr. Beaver's generalization would still, I think, be an over-statement. At any rate it would be an over-statement to say that 'when a death occurs every one thinks it was due to sorcery'. The truth is more nearly represented thus: 'when a death occurs there is always some one who thinks it was due to sorcery.' The majority of those who are not closely affected by a man's death simply accept the fact without question. They do not believe that a sorcerer has robbed him of immortality. He died as every man has got to die. But with the friends and relatives of the deceased the case may be different. The grief of bereavement is likely to turn into anger against things in general, and this comprehensive anger is likely to be focused upon the object of some previous enmity, one against whom the bereaved or the deceased may have had a standing grudge. The suspicion of foul play easily springs into the mind of one who is ill used by fortune. He casts about for some one to blame, and fixes upon his enemy. Evidently he did not do the mischief openly; therefore he must have done it covertly. He was in fact the guilty sorcerer. Even some trifling misfortune may be enough to arouse the suspicion of black magic. A man setting out on a long journey is overtaken by bad weather and has to build himself a bush shelter and wait for the rain to cease. No doubt he has time to brood over the annoyance, for he arrives at the conclusion that the untimely downpour has been brought about by one of his neighbours who

[1] *Papua Ann. Report*, 1914–15, p. 30.

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754 bears him a personal grudge and merely wishes to vent his spite.

754 888 753 761 It is not always an enemy who receives the blame. Any piece of circumstantial evidence may be sufficient to implicate the innocent, and especially so if he be an old man; for there is apparently a kind of *mana* about old age which argues a special fitness for sorcery. To sum up, one may say that, while it is not true that misfortune, sickness, and death are invariably ascribed to sorcery, the suspicion of it is nevertheless extremely common; and one might go so far as to say that almost every death is ascribed to sorcery in the opinion of some one or other.

754 732 753 An example will show how baseless the suspicion may be. In the village of Aurida on the Opi was to be seen a miniature house, not much larger than that which commonly accommodates a pet cockatoo or hornbill. It contained as perpetual inmate a little girl whose limbs were so twisted as to be quite useless. Some years back, as she said herself, she used to play with the other children until this disease overtook her and slowly turned her into a cripple. As a very little child she had been the great pet of her old *nobo*, or maternal uncle, who had been in the habit of dandling her in his lap. The old man had died before I heard of this case. He had never hinted at making magic against the child, and maybe he was never openly accused of doing so, but there was no doubt in the village that he had been the cause of the terrible malady which eventually ended in her death. No real reason could be found, but the fact that she was so often in his arms was enough cause for suspicion which in time turned to certainty.

754 694 687 The same village provided a somewhat amusing incident which serves to show the ramifications of evil which may arise from a false accusation. One Josiva of a neighbouring village brought a charge of sorcery against an old man of Aurida. He evidently wished to make a court case of it, for he enlisted the aid of three village con-

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stables who descended on Aurida to make an arrest. They met with unforeseen resistance and found themselves engaged in hand-to-hand combat with the alleged sorcerer and two of his friends. The most formidable of the policemen, a muscular man of somewhat truculent appearance, succeeded in overpowering the old sorcerer, but the other two did not meet with the same success. One of them, wrestling for possession of a stone club, received a blow in the stomach from the flat of his antagonist's foot, which compelled him to relinquish his hold and lie on the ground. The third was pitted against an ex-cook-boy who, as it was naïvely explained, had learnt from his employer how effective a weapon was the closed fist. In the face of this exotic knowledge the village constable was severely worsted. But now, although the honours rested indisputably with the alleged law-breakers, the latter were overcome by the enormity of their last offence. They killed a dog for the outraged constables by way of conciliation, and quietly submitted to arrest. Once at the station they were punished for resisting the police but acquitted on an unfounded charge of sorcery; while the informer, one understands, was punished in a well-deserved if somewhat irregular manner for bringing about all the trouble.

The suspicion that death is due to sorcery is sufficiently common to give rise to divinatory experiments by which the identity of the sorcerer is to be discovered. Several methods are recognized, though it is not to be supposed that divination is practised in every case. In a method well known among the Orokaiva a burning brand is set up on the outskirts of a village in which a death has recently occurred. The relatives of the dead man observe it carefully and when it proceeds to fly away, carried by the ghost of the deceased, they endeavour to follow it, for it will come to rest on the house verandah of the guilty sorcerer. The process has certain variants. In the typical case the burning brand is set up on a stump and attached to a long string, the end of which is held in the hand of

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754 787 one of the friends of the deceased. While the brand continues to burn, this man lightly jerks the string, uttering the names meanwhile of all those likely sorcerers who may have been guilty in the case under investigation. Suddenly the brand falls and is extinguished, and the name which was mentioned at the crucial moment is that of the culprit. It is not difficult to suppose that a little extra vigour in the pull, conscious or unconscious, might lead to the victimization of an innocent man who for some reason was in the bad books of the diviners. When, as is sometimes supposed, the brand takes flight through the bush in the hand of the ghost and is traced to the house of the guilty man, it is equally possible for the same sort of abuse to enter into the experiment. Nothing is commoner than a dead brand or a few lumps of charcoal on a man's verandah, and this kind of divination might find almost any one guilty. Indeed, there is a possibility of foul play on the part of the diviners. As Mr. Beaver observed, 'Unfortunately for the psychic value of the proceedings, I understand the imprint of a human hand may often be discovered on the charred wood'.[1]

754 787 775 824 An incident in my own experience illustrates another well-known method and will serve to show how much of suspicion, preconception, or even spite there may be in what appears a sincere attempt at divination. Among the Orokaiva's somewhat vague and ill-assorted ideas of the life after death there is this, that shortly after a man's decease his ghost may take the form of the bird *kombu*. The *kombu* is a bird of black plumage, seldom seen, and has for some reason acquired a character of uncanniness. Its usual cry is one of four syllables and is said to be *Kau, kau, kombu!* but evidently the bird has a way of varying its call, and one may expect by paying careful attention to hear it pronounce the name of the sorcerer who brought its human existence to an end. A number of different examples would argue a greater power of vocal expression than any untaught bird could well

[1] *Loc. cit.*

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possess, and they are hardly to be explained on any hypothesis save that a man often hears just what he expects to hear. In the instance of which I am speaking the friends of the deceased, one Handau, had on several recent occasions heard the early morning cry of the *kombu* on the outskirts of the village. It had said unmistakably *Ohusa !* and *Samberota !* sometimes the one, sometimes the other. Two of the mourning relatives approached me in the clandestine manner which the weirdness and gravity of the matter seemed to warrant, and suggested that I rise before daybreak on the next morning, when it would be possible, by hearing the *kombu* itself, to verify what they said.

At dawn of the following day the awakening birds were uttering their various calls when I took a seat in the centre of the village together with the two informants, who were listening in a state of highly strung expectancy for the ghostly bird to repeat its message. We had hardly composed ourselves for the event when the solitary rooster of a neighbour, not ten yards away, fairly split the welkin with a cry as nearly resembling *Samberota !* as any bird short of a parrot could have uttered. Yet this loud crowing of the cock did not seem to attract the attention of my companions, or if it did was looked on only as an annoying interruption. Their attention was focused on the voice of the *kombu*, discernible among the increasing babel of notes at perhaps one hundred yards' distance. It was uttering a cry of four syllables the last of which seemed occasionally to be cut off, so that I felt bound to say they framed the words *Samberota* and *Ohusa* as well as any other.

Encouraged by this verification my informants explained that Handau, some time before his death, had visited a somewhat distant part and lived for a day or two in the house of Ohusa. The purpose of his visit to the place had been to set up a pig-trap of the kind called *samberota*. It was true, they admitted, that this kind of pig-trap was usually known as *bagi*. But Bagi happened

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754 to be the name of one of Handau's relatives whom he was 781 forbidden by etiquette to address or speak of save by a respectful synonym. Hence it was quite understandable, indeed necessary, that he should use the alternative word *samberota.*

The fact that Ohusa had entertained Handau so shortly before his death was enough to suggest that he might have made magic against him. The two significant cries of the *kombu* were enough to make the suspicion a certainty. And the friends of the dead man begged me to write a 'paper' and to have the suspect put under arrest and sent to the Government station for trial. It is important I should add that both these men were unmistakably in earnest and believed they heard correctly what the *kombu* said.

754 In view of such cases as these we may fairly conclude that the suspicion of sorcery is out of all proportion to the actual practice of it. For every man who of set intent practises the black art there are many—one cannot say how many—who are falsely accused of doing so. Of these some are sorcerers only by repute and perhaps seldom hear the charges which are secretly laid against them by the gossips. Others may hear the charges and even welcome them, play up to them, and perhaps be induced by experiment really to be guilty of them. We have already arrived at the conclusion in section 6 that even where black magic is actually practised the only serious effects are indirect or mental. In the present section we have seen that the actual practice is by no means equal to the alleged practice. The previous conclusion may therefore be repeated with more confidence. It is not the practice of sorcery which does the harm, but rather the belief in it, and especially the fear of it.

754 We have last to consider the attitude which is adopted 789 toward the maker of magic, whether good or bad, first by his fellow villagers, and second by ourselves. Under both heads it will be necessary to bear continually in mind the distinction between black and white magic.

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It has already been pointed out that the Orokaiva has no name for the good magic-maker, but only for him who makes magic of the illicit and anti-social kind. The reason is that white magic is made by every one: it is a universal practice, and if the hypothesis of the earlier part of this report be a true one we may take it that magic, being based on impulse, is at bottom a natural thing. It is not possible, perhaps, to draw a perfectly clear line of definition between good and bad in magic, because there will always be some intermediate and doubtful cases; but it may be said that on the whole harmless magic is in native eyes entirely guiltless.

Black magic, on the other hand, as an anti-social thing, whether it be directed against the individual or the mass, is frowned upon. But it is not as if the sorcerers constituted a criminal minority against which the body of public opinion maintained continual warfare. It cannot be said that Orokaiva sorcerers are a very distinctive class. There are no well-defined 'orders' such as are found among other peoples not quite so primitive. In fact any one and every one may be accused of sorcery, and (to repeat an earlier observation) of those older men who are in any way marked among their fellows as hard, shrewd, cunning, or cross-grained, I dare say there are few who escape the imputation.

The attitude of the public is one of fear and mistrust. Preventive measures are confined in the main either to conciliation (i.e. to the giving of presents) or to the making of retaliatory magic. We seldom hear of active measures, though instances are not altogether wanting, and sometimes an imputation of sorcery may be the direct cause of a village affray. But such affairs are mere acts of concerted vengeance: there is nothing of legal sanction about them. It is usually found that accusations of sorcery are made against men of other villages, not often against an individual of the village in which the effects of the alleged sorcery have been felt. Therefore, where there is such a marked absence of inter-village federation

2: Williams E, G-5 (1923-1925) 1928
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754 or cohesion as among the Orokaiva, one cannot expect to see any central authority which could enforce the law, even supposing such a law could be said to exist.

A spell of dry weather about Wasida was long enough to warrant the suspicion of sun-making magic. The guilt was laid at the door of one Horova, who, it appears, accepted the challenge, admitted or pretended that he was making the magic, and averred that he was not afraid of the people of Wasida. It was said that once Horova bathed the drought would be broken; but it does not seem to have occurred to those who suffered from the drought that they might bring it to an end by ducking the magician. Yet even if they had thought of this measure it is doubtful whether they could have put it into effect without coming into conflict with Horova's friends, who would certainly have stood by him.

[692 625] There is no judicial procedure among the Orokaiva, and no 'police force'. In so far as sorcery is concerned, by the way, these deficiencies are perhaps not altogether deplorable. The suspicion of sorcery, where it is backed up by ignorant legal authority, may go to extraordinary lengths of oppression. No Papuan people has reached that stage of legal development which would have made possible such condemnations as those of West Africa, by which some populations are said to have been almost decimated.[1] Even in medieval Europe it was simply the fear of magic which led to the incredible abuses of the witch-trials. In these more advanced societies the belief in sorcery broke out in a new direction, and found another means of doing evil by assailing the imputed and frequently innocent sorcerers.

We may leave out of consideration the measures which the Government finds it necessary to adopt against magic, viz. those of conviction and punishment. While they serve their purpose in keeping the practice of magic in check, they cannot, I imagine, stamp out the belief in magic, and its really harmful corollary the fear of magic.

[1] Vide Sir H. H. Johnston, *George Grenfell*, p. 663.

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The only method by which these can be successfully eradicated is that of education, which however slow and laborious is none the less sure. One must admit that whoever tries to disabuse a native's mind of the belief in black magic is likely to meet with that well-known air of being politely unconvinced; or he may meet with a show of agreement which is just as shallow as it is cordial. The native is very prone to go away thinking that the white man is a trifle too blunt to understand the occult influences which have so long been at work among his people. Considering this stubborn, or perhaps one should say resilient, frame of mind, one might almost despair of effecting a change, and the process of abolishing magic and the evil variety of it called sorcery will therefore be at best dishearteningly slow. The process indeed is, so to speak, asymptotic and the actual end of it probably beyond attainment. Nevertheless as the work of education continues, as the native grows increasingly familiar with causes and effects as we see them, we may expect him little by little to find out and correct the falsity of his own ideas.

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3: Reay E-4, 5 (1951) 1953 OJ23 Orokaiva OJ23

headdresses. At the conclusion of the initiation, some of the initiates are presented with the *otohu* ornaments. (Formerly, it was always a distinguished warrior who presented these.) The initiates then fast for a day and a night. That night, there is sexual licence for the senior villagers, a temporary lifting of tabus on incest and adultery, but the initiates themselves are not permitted to participate.

In interpreting the initiation ceremonies of the Orokaiva, Chinnery and Beaver state that " the idea . . . seems to be to instil absolute and lasting terror into the candidates, and to make them think that their elders have beaten off the spirits ; while in this receptive and chastened frame of mind, the lads, imbued with the idea of the power of the men, will pay attention to the instruction given. There appears to be an idea that the spirits of the dead are present, and that the initiated, *i.e.* the living, are keeping them away from the candidates."[6]

Amongst the living, the initiation ritual juxtaposes the two groups, initiated and uninitiated, the one group terrified and utterly helpless, and the other well able to deal with the *embahi* spirits and drive away danger. Thus the respect for seniority, which is informally learned during childhood, is finally established.

An Erikson-type psychoanalytic interpretation would doubtless find in the *embahi's* threat to devour the boys, with the menacing reiteration " Bite, bite, bite ! " a dramatization of the *meni orosati's* guilt at biting the mother. I have not enough data to confirm or deny the admissibility of such an interpretation.

Above all, initiation involves the explicit instruction of the boys in the *otohu* virtues. This instruction takes place during their period of seclusion in the *oro*. Later, when *otohu* ornaments are given to some of them, they are again exhorted in detail to practise these virtues. The possession of an *otohu* imposes a social obligation on the wearer to " live up to it," and the prestige associated with this ornament indubitably ensures that a large number of people do in fact approximate to the ideal *otohu* patterns of behaviour.

(3) Sanctions

In Orokaiva society, sanctions operate diffusely and need no specific person's direction to put them into effect. The *embo kiti*, whom F. E. Williams called a " clan headman," but who is really more of a village headman whose position is hereditary within a certain lineage of the clan, has a limited authority which is backed by no sanctions. He has no power to reward or punish, except by making obvious his approval or disapproval of various lines of action. In fact, there is no rewarding and punishing authority at all.

Retaliation seems to have been the commonest sanction in former times, in the form of direct violence or the more subtle method of sorcery.[7] Retaliation by sorcery may still be practised ; I have no information on this point. Certainly deaths are still attributed to sorcery. When (during 1950) several people from the same village

[6] E. W. P. Chinnery and W. N. Beaver, in *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, Vol. XLV, 1915.

[7] F. E. Williams, *Orokaiva Society*, pp. 327–329.

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died within a couple of months, these deaths were said to have been the result of sorcery. There was no strenuous effort to trace the sorcerer, because knowledge of his identity would bring the obligation to exercise fatal punishment, which would involve trouble with the Administration.

Retaliation by direct violence still takes place, although the Orokaiva are generally careful not to let it have a fatal result. If a woman is found to have committed adultery, her husband thrashes her. Traditionally, he has a right to take direct action against the co-respondent also, but nowadays he is more likely to tell his *naname* (friend), who calls the adulterer a series of uncomplimentary names in public and makes his position so intolerable that he will leave the village. The offender may go into the bush for a while, but generally he goes to some other village where he has a *naname* of his own who will give him shelter and hospitality.

If a woman suspects her husband of adultery, she accuses him loudly in public, and if the husband cannot satisfy her that her suspicions are ill-founded, she will gather her few belongings in a string bag and set out for her own village. This act of the woman, while she is in a mood of righteous anger, is regarded as retaliation. "Now," she cries as a parting shot, "you will have no one to cook for you!" Actually, it is not difficult for the man to find a friend's wife or some kinswoman to cook for him, but the routine of his life is upset.

Clearly, the sanction of retaliation is severely limited by the modern prohibition of killing, for it is necessarily somewhat abortive without the freedom to carry it through. Nowadays, the pattern is to leave the field rather than stay and fight it out. In domestic squabbles, either the guilty parties or the wronged ones who are unable to retaliate can leave the village until tempers have cooled. If arguments between segments of a village recur and seem to be developing into a feud, one section can break away to found a new village at a little distance from the first.

Retaliation is impossible when crimes are carried out surreptitiously so that the crime is discovered but the criminal is not known. There remains the sanction of self-injury, which makes the wrongdoer feel sorry for the wronged one and therefore ashamed of having caused him to suffer. F. E. Williams cites two cases of theft which illustrate the operation of this peculiarly oblique sanction. To make the thief realize the enormity of his offence, the owner of a stolen watermelon hacked the rest of his crop to pieces, and the owner of a stolen spear chopped down his house where he had left the spear. The injured man aggravates his own injury, so that pity for him will induce shame in the culprit. This attitude on the part of the injured man is largely a blend of anger and self-pity. It is called *sisiva*.[8]

This sanction demonstrates how the Orokaiva tends to take revenge upon the person who hurt his feelings by punishing himself. This is something of this self-punishing, too, in the wearing of the *heratu* (plant-emblem) as a symbol of abstention from food belonging to or prepared by someone who has wronged him.[9]

[8] F. E. Williams, *op. cit.*, p. 333.
[9] *Idem.*, p. 116.